

SPEECH BY PRESIDENT SUKARNO AT A LUNCHEON HELD BY THE
AMERICAN MEN'S ASSOCIATION IN HOTEL INDONESIA,
DJAKARTA, 22 DECEMBER 1964.

Mr. Bennett, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, my dear friends,

Mr. Bennett, thank you for this scholarship award, "Merited in recognition of Indonesia's educational achievements, the American Men's Association pledges to H.E. President Dr. Ir. H. Sukarno Rp. 500,000 in awards for scholarships for deserving students at the University of Indonesia and the Institute Pertanian at Bogor. Richard Bennett, President American Men's Association".

Thank you for this. I shall use the money for sending students to Universitas Indonesia and the Institut Pertanian at Bogor.

Excuse me, one thing, Mr. Bennett. How do you spell "recognition"? Recognition, nition is it with an a or with an i? Look, here, ladies and gentlemen, recognition, r, e, c, o, g, n, a, t, i, o, n. To my opinion it should be an i, n, i, t, i, o, n.

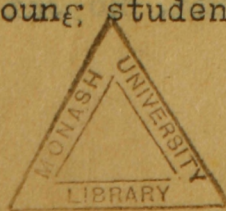
Ah, it was only to tease you, Mr. Bennett. I was not intending to say that I am a good connoisseur of English, oh, no. Today for example I have to address you in English, and that is quite difficult. Because as I always say, in speaking in English I have to think twice. First think in my own language and then translate my thoughts into English, and then express it to you.

My dear friend Howard Jones, thank you for your introduction. You introduced me to the friends here with words, oh, I think, those words were too high to evaluate me. Yes, I am wellknown in the world, sometimes in the good sense of the word, sometimes very ill-famed. For example if you read Time magazine, oh, oh, oh, oh, goodness, Time magazine never writes good things about me. Or United States News and World Report also always writes very bad things about me. But there are also other American newspapers and magazines, which write good things about me and I am really very thankful for that.

Sometimes, I mean the magazines which write so badly about me, sometimes they call me "the bad man of Asia". I do not know if I am really a bad ^{man} of Asia, in Asia. Sometimes they say I am the troublemaker in Asia, once even, but it was a French magazine, Paris Match, you know it, Howard, Paris Match wrote.....(opname tape rusak).....

But, look here, I do not know if I am really a bad man. I just do what I was intending to do from the years when I was a young boy going to school, a young student going ^{to} highschool at Surabaya, a small boy, I was then very poor. Father was very poor, mother was very poor, and when I was a young student I was deprived of all

material



material pleasures of life. I did not even have one good pair of shoes. I went to college barefoot sometimes. I slept, not on a soft bed like all of you, but on a bamboo stretcher. I studied in my bedroom, not in the light of an electric lamp, I studied in my bedroom in the light of candles, or of a very small oil lamp. I was deprived of all material pleasures of this world.

And that is why, I once told it already in my speech, I sought my consolation in the world of the mind. I left this material world and I went into the world of the mind. I borrowed books, I read books, I travelled through the world of the mind and in that world of the mind I met with great men of history. I met with George Washington, I met in the world of the mind with Thomas Jefferson, who wrote your very famous Declaration of Independence. I met in the world of the mind with Paul Revere. I met in the world of the mind the great men of England. With Gladstone, with William Pitt, with the first socialist leaders, the married couple Sydney Webb and Beatrice Webb. I met and spoke in the world of the mind with the leaders of the French Revolution. I met with ^{you know} Mirabeau, I met with Marat, I met with Danton, I met with the leader of the revolutionary women in Paris, Théroigne de Méricourt. I met with the great leaders of the French Revolution. And in the world of the mind I met also with the leaders of Germany. I met with der alte Fritz, Frederick the Great, I met with Wilhelm Liebknecht, and yes, then I met also Marx. Karl Marx. I met with Eduard Bernstein, I met with Friedrich Engels. In the world of the mind I met also the leaders of Italy. I met with Mazzini, Giuseppe Mazzini, the very famous leader of the Italian nation, I met with Garibaldi, I met with the great Prime Minister Cavour. In the world of the mind I also met with the leaders of Russia. I met with Plekhanov, later I met with Lenin, I met with Trotsky. In the world of the mind I met the Turkish leader Kemal Ataturk. Before we called him Kemal Pasha. Later he changed his name into Kemal Ataturk, a real Turkish name. In the world of the mind I met with the leaders of China. I met with the very famous Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the father of the Chinese nation. I met with the leaders of present day Egypt, the United Arab Republic. I met with Arabi Pasha, I met with Sjahul Pasha, I met with Mustafa Kamil. The other one in Turkey was Mustafa Kemal, this one in Egypt is Mustafa Kamil. Oh, a very fiery young nationalist, who died too young. And in the world of the mind I met in India Mahatma Gandhi. I met the father of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Motilal Nehru. I met with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself. I met with the then Indian leaders, but later Pakistani leaders, with Mohamad Ali Jinnah, Mohamad Ali, Sjaikat Ali, Arouna Asaf Ali. And just in the world of the mind I met also with Ho Chi Minh. Ho Chi Minh, the President of North Vietnam. In

Vietnam. In the world of the mind I also met the leaders of Japan. Meiji Tenno, and especially I met the great patriot of Japan Saigo Takamori, I do not know, is there a Japanese here among the audience? Takamori Saigo or Saigo Takamori, a very great man,

I met all those great men in the world of the mind. And that contributed to the forming of my mind. By having met all those great men I began to believe and to be convinced, I have come to the conviction that mankind is one. Mankind is one. All the idealism of George Washington, of Thomas Jefferson, of Gladstone, of William Pitt, of Jean Jaurès. I forgot to mention his name, a French leader whom I revere so much and whom I cite so many times in my speeches. Of Mazzini, of Garibaldi, of Pleghanov, of Stalin, of Trotsky, of Lenin, of Gandhi, of Mustafa Kemal, - Kemal Ataturk -, of Ho Chi Minh, of Sun Yat Sen, of Saigo Takamori. In the Philippines I met, in the world of the mind, José Rizal Y Mercado, who was shot dead by the Spanish in 1903. I read his speeches in 21 or 22. I met José Rizal Y Mercado, ^{met} I/Mabini, also a great leader of the Philippines.

Well, after having met, after having spoken with all those great leaders, I became convinced that mankind is one. And that is why I gave contents to the Indonesian Revolution. I hope or I think you have heard of the Indonesian Revolution, the three principle aims of the Indonesian Revolution:

Firstly, to establish in Indonesia a state, a republic, from Sabang to Merauke, Sabang is the utmost northpoint of Sumatra, Merauke is the utmost east of the former Netherland Indies, to establish on those 3000 inhabited islands and 7000 un-inhabited islands, one great nation, one great Republic of Indonesia, a unitarian republic. Then when I proclaimed the independence with 72 million inhabitants, now already with 104 million inhabitants. Because Indonesians are so very fertile, we expand like rabbits! Yes, we are very industrious! We are now 104 million. But it is the first big aim of the Indonesian revolution to establish a Republic on those ten thousand islands, 3000 inhabited, 7000 un-inhabited, one great unitarian Republic of Indonesia.

Secondly, to establish in that Republic of Indonesia a just and prosperous society without, keep in mind, now I am borrowing the words of the French leader whom I love so much, Jean Jaurès, a just and prosperous society without exploitation de l'homme par l'homme. That is French. Exploitation de l'homme par l'homme. No exploitation of man by man.

The third aim of the Indonesian Revolution is to contribute to the establishment of a new world, a new world of one mankind, a new world of happiness, a new world of brotherhood, a new world without exploitation de

exploitation de nation par nation. Exploitation de nation par nation means exploitation of nation by nation.

Those are the aims of the Indonesian revolution. I repeat, establish an Indonesian Republic on the ten thousand islands, unitarian. Secondly, a just and prosperous society in Indonesia without exploitation of man by man. Thirdly, contribute to the forming of a new world without exploitation of nation by nation.

And that is the dedication of life I am giving to. Thank you, Howard, that you have mentioned that I have spent twelve years in prison. And that is really true, In prison I wondered very much about these things, and when I came out of prison, yes, you are right, I worked and fought again for these three principles.

And now I am President of the Republic of Indonesia. And now they call me sometimes a nice chap, sometimes they call me a very charming President, sometimes, and I am for example very grateful to Bertrand Russell, the great philosopher. Bertrand Russell called me also, called me one of the great thinkers of the 20th century, a tribute given by Russell to me which I value very highly. But sometimes they call me a bad man, troublemaker, a seducer of women and of nations. O.K., I do not care about that.

But now I am standing before you, my dear friends, let me tell you frankly, I like Americans. I like the American people. Among my closest friends are Americans. For example, Howard Jones, I love him immensely. Mary Lou, I love her immensely. I hope that Howard is not jealous about that, she is the only Ambassador's wife whom I kiss publicly because I love her. And I am not speaking about that naughty man Walt Spillum. I love him, I love his Pan American Airlines. Every time I go abroad I charter Pan American planes and Walt, insja Allah, the next trip also with Pan American!

And anyhow, I really love and like American people, but sometimes I do not like American policy. American policy, especially in the East, in Asia and Africa. Jah, each government has its own policy, even if I like the American people, even if I like the Americans as people, sometimes I do not agree with their policy, I mean the policy of their Government, and yes, then I have to oppose that policy, because that policy concerns also Indonesia. And I hope you will not take me ill about that.

Look here, may I talk frankly to you? Sometimes American leaders do not understand that this 20th century is a different century. The 20th century has, I said, three phenomena: In this 20th century first we saw and we see the emerging of new independent states in Asia and Africa. That did not happen in the 19th century, but in the 20th century. The second phenomenon in this 20th century, we saw the establishment of socialist

of socialist states. Whether you like it or you do not like it, but the fact is that in this 20th century socialist states were established. The Soviet Union, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc., etc., etc. In this 20th century we saw the atomic revolution. And also the outer space revolution is a very distinct phenomenon in the 20th century. We did not see the atomic revolution in the 19th or 18th century. No in the 20th century, it is a 20th century revolution.

Now, we are living in this 20th century. I, Indonesia, is part of the first phenomenon of this 20th century, the emerging of new states in Asia and Africa. Now, Indonesia became free in the 20th century. India became free in the 20th century. Vietnam became free, North Vietnam, became free in the 20th century. Pakistan became free in the 20th century. The Philippines became free in the 20th century. Egypt became free in the 20th century. Morocco, Tunisia, all those African states became free in the 20th century. Indonesia also became free in the 20th century.

That is why I have to guard this freedom. Not only I, but everybody in Indonesia, Ahem, Sudartono here Maladi, here Leimena, here Hurustiati Subandrio, here Chaerul Saleh, we all, all Indonesians, we have to guard this freedom, freedom of Indonesia. For this freedom we have fought, I have suffered, say, my whole life for this freedom. I have even spent twelve, thirteen years in prison and exile. He, believe me, he spent years in the jungles, for what? ^{For} his own happiness? No, for this freedom. And Leimena, I sent him as a poor man without money to Europe. Remember, Leimena, you came to Europe without one penny in your pocket. But still he did it. For what? For this freedom. So we have to guard this freedom.

And, keep in mind, my dear friends, Americans, it was three, four years ago that I spoke here in your residence, three years ago. Then I spoke very highly, very highly of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. - the way, then I told the audience what Howard Jones was telling about me. One day somebody came to him who asked him, how does Sukarno look like? What is he really, what kind of man is he really? What kind of leader is he really? Then Howard Jones replied, Sukarno, oh, that is very easy, to define him. Sukarno is a mixture, a combination, a mixture of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Clark Gable! True?! According to Howard Jones, whom I love so much, I am a mixture, a combination of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Clark Gable. I am happy with both.

Well, on that occasion then I cited Franklin Delano Roosevelt. I spoke very highly about F.D. Roosevelt, and I spoke about the four freedoms of F.D. Roosevelt. The four freedoms, Roosevelt's four freedoms. Freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear. Roosevelt's four freedoms. I spoke very highly of this, very high idealism of F.D. Roosevelt with his four freedoms. And we

And we Indonesians, we are also living for that. But then I added, also clearly in that speech, I said, but those four freedoms are not enough for us. Not enough for us, new emerging Asian nations. Not enough for us new emerging African nations. We want to have number five, I said. And that is the freedom to be free. So what Indonesians, are living for, are five, not four. We are living for the freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from fear, freedom from want, but also for the freedom to be free. And sometimes to my great distress I see that this freedom to be free, not only in Indonesia, but also elsewhere in Asia and Africa, sometimes this freedom is not well respected by other nations. That is why I said, I like and love the American people, among my best friends are Americans, but sometimes I do not agree with American policy in Asia and Africa.

Well, but that does not mean that I, as President of this Republic of Indonesia, am not working very hard for good relationship with America, for good friendship with America. I always say, international relationship in fact is a matter of human relationship. That is why my human relationship with Americans is very good. With your Ambassador, with his wife, with all my American friends, Mr. Galbraith, with Mrs. Galbraith, with Mr. Ward. This human relationship between Sukarno and the Americans here, with Bill Palmer, - although sometimes I, I reproach him, because,.... when do you get married, Bill? Once I met him in Bandung, in Braga, in one motorcar with six girls, six Indonesian girls! Good! But get married as soon as possible!

So, my human relationship with Americans are good, very good. But I have^{to} confess to you, my dear friends, sometimes I do not agree with American policy. But I am convinced that in the future, also in the field of policy we are friends, we can shake hands together.

Well, Mr. Bennett, that is my reply to your scholarship award. I hope, you are not angry that I made that correction?

Thank you.

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